Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

Vol. XVIII, No. 40 October 6, 1961 Section I — News

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JFK—Chamberlain Not Churchill: In the wake of President Kennedy's United Nations speech, the most frequent crack in the lobbies of Congress was a quotation taken from James Reston of the New York *Times*: "He has talked like Churchill but acted like Chamberlain." This unkindest cut of all comes from a correspondent and newspaper usually pro-Kennedy.

The speech (of a literary quality equal to the best of Winston Churchill) at first received extravagant praise from the unthinking, a sort of ritual or protocol which most of the press and Congress also apparently deem necessary. But soon critical voices arose.

Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) found the President's words hard to reconcile with the fact that his emissary to Berlin, General Lucius Clay, had just talked appeasement. The Clay episode (see "Political General" below) was a "trial balloon" to soften us up for future eventualities, said Goldwater.

Senator Kenneth B. Keating (R.-N.Y.), who rarely backs up the Arizonan, followed with an expression of fear that the Administration is readying appeasement on Berlin.

Goldwater did pay tribute to the fact that Kennedy finally rattled the threat of using nuclear power to protect our rights in Berlin. The Senator referred to a speech given a few days before by Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Maine), which attracted wide attention. She charged Kennedy with playing into the hands of Khrushchev by making him think the US lacks the will to use our nuclear power to defend Berlin. Subsequently, in his UN speech, the President did at last rattle the nuclear bomb. Thus, said Goldwater, it took a courageous lady Senator "to drag the New Frontier kicking and screaming into an attitude of nuclear reality."

Reaction abroad to the Kennedy speech was not unlike that in the US (except in London, which naturally found the oration very palatable). Paris saw JFK beating a retreat from his verbal "firmness." The mildest epithet was "contradictory" and one French newspaper printed Reston's crack. In Berlin, political observers—cynical after the Clay antic—said, "How can the Americans fight a cold war with cold feet?"

All over Capitol Hill, the judgment ran: "More words, but no deeds to match them."

Deeds Not Words: So impatient have members of Congress become with the President's reliance on literary efforts to wage the cold war against Khrushchev that a wave of criticism arose during the last days that the lawmakers were in session. "While Kennedy talked 'firm' on Laos, the Communist forces moved in," and "while the President talked about remaining 'firm' in defense of Berlin, the Reds sealed off East Berlin, without our destroying those barricades." The Red Czar should be specifically warned as he practices his "brinksmanship" that he will meet such-and-such decisive action to counter his aggressive moves.

Hence, Representative Walter H. Judd (R.-Minn.) on September 23 proposed a four-point program of counteraction: (1) nullifying by the West of all agreements made with Soviet Russia at the end of World War II. This would mean that the status quo of East Berlin and East Germany would no longer be binding on the US and its allies; (2) ending all pending negotiations on disarmament; (3) breaking diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and its satellites, chasing their embassies out of Washington; and (4) imposing a "quarantine" or economic sanctions on the Soviet Union and its satellites (just as the East Berlin Reds are threatening an embargo on West Berlin).

Significantly, Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) offered a "deeds not words" program containing several of these same points.

Judd's argument is that we should, in advance, sharply and clearly outline such a program of "steps the West would surely take" and that this would "surely give most serious pause to the Soviet Union in its course." These, he contended, would better convince Khrushchev of our "determination" than the policy which President Kennedy has so far pursued. To Judd's argument, no member of Congress offered objection.

Nixon Declares: The former VP has well launched himself toward the GOP gubernatorial nomination in the California primary next June and for the subsequent task of defeating incumbent Democratic Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown in November, 1962. In the primary race, Nixon seems assured of success; most observers say he will win decisively. He's got the party organization behind him (which clamored for and forced his entry into the race); and it will be a closed GOP primary (no more cross filing). Not so certain is whether one of his primary opponents, former Governor Goodwin Knight, will wage a campaign of such virulence against Nixon that unhealable wounds will hurt the latter in the

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final stage against Brown. That remains to be seen. But today Nixon partisans are confident.

All these claims, of course, remain contingent on Nixon's mounting and waging effective campaigns in both the primary and election. Before September, 1960, it was assumed Dick Nixon would run his Presidential battle against Kennedy with impeccable ability. He didn't. California pros say he didn't in that state, either; that he froze out many veteran pros and depended too much on young green amateurs. He won California's electoral votes last November only by an eyelash. Will Dick, wiser after 1960 scars, run real, smart campaigns in the coming year?

Anyway, he's started well—by refusing an offer from Goodie Knight to debate (a word that must haunt the contender against John F. Kennedy).

And 64? "My firm conviction" commented Senator Barry Goldwater, "is that Nixon's promise not to seek the Presidency in 1964 is a valid, honest promise."

Nebraska State GOP Chairman Charles Thone handed down the judgment, "This shuts the door hard on the Presidential nomination in '64 as far as Nixon is concerned. This leaves it up to Goldwater and Rockefeller for the nomination and it should be an extremely interesting race." To this, no one in Washington offers any dissent.

Walker Case: Concern grows that the Senate Armed Services Committee's "study" of Defense Department muzzling of the military's anti-Communist speeches may not reach full promise.

Informed sources point out that, although the committee finally voted 15-1 to set up a special subcommittee study, there was considerable closed session battling, bickering and balking. What this means is that committee members were afraid—because of the immense public support for an investigation—to register a negative vote. Only E. L. Bartlett (D.-Alaska) voted nay. But this awareness of grass-roots sentiment will not keep the reluctant ones, it is thought, from attempting to slow the investigative wheels.

The subcommittee will be headed by John Stennis (D.-Miss.). Staff research will begin shortly, but those close to the committee say the actual study—when witnesses are called—may not start until Congress reconvenes in January. Stennis is thought to be less than enthusiastic about following up the Thurmond crusade. It is believed that a flow of mail to the Mississippi lawmaker urging a full-scale look into the muzzling of the military's anti-Communists would strengthen the prospects for an effective "study."

Political General: On Capitol Hill, the much-publicized and recently popular General Lucius Clay has now achieved intense unpopularity. Clay, in a so-called "off-the-record" press conference in Berlin, urged the Germans to get used to the Communist East German regime and prepare to surrender more rights to that Soviet puppet. Once the story broke, Clay, of course, voiced denial. But no one in Washington doubts that he said it and that he was sent to Berlin by the State Department to say it.

Capitol Hill knows a "trial balloon" when it sees one. Now, in the cloakrooms, legislators still on hand say: "Yank that political general back here; it's the only way we can square ourselves with the Germans."

In short, it looks as if the Administration sent Clay to Berlin not to stiffen West German morale, but to soften it in preparation for an appeasement settlement.

As a matter of fact, Capitol Hill has never been unaware that Clay is a political general. During the Eisenhower years, Clay, as an old Army buddy, was able to dart in and out of the back door of the White House with the approval of the notorious Sherman Adams. Clay worked (and still works) for the Continental Can Co., whose most powerful director is Wall Streeter Sidney J. Weinberg—a Modern Republican.

Clay was believed to have scuttled a drive conceived by Regular Republicans—Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., Senator William E. Jenner and others—to clean out pinkos. Brownell, Jenner and Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover had started to show the Red nature and links of F.D.R.'s Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, the late Harry Dexter White, as a start of such a house cleaning. Clay is said to have influenced Ike to squash the drive.

Congressional Session: Conservatives on Capitol Hill waged a pretty good fight on many issues in the last session but are bound to admit that they fell far short of substantially checking the liberal program which the Kennedy Administration sought to ram through the legislative branch. When and wherein did they fail?

The record shows that the White House racked up its legislative victories mainly in the first part of the session and that the conservatives were overcome, in these early months, primarily on domestic spending welfare bills. The conservative tide rose as months went by, and as exposure of the inflationary and unconstitutional implications of the Kennedy measures widened.

Conservatives feel much pride in their defeat of Administration efforts in the fields of Federal aid to education, Federal health (medicare), agricultural regimentation—the totalitarian-conceived farm plan—and the audacious encroachment on congressional powers in the "back-door spending" feature of foreign aid, etc.

But the fact remains that over-all Federal spending rose to its greatest peace-time height, while various welfare measures got through (even with small appropriations) to establish the bureaucratic basis for bigger spending later. Was this inexorably fated after the Democratic victory in the

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election last fall, or could it have been severely checked by legislative opposition?

Many Capitol Hill veterans say the spending spree *could* have been drastically cut down. It would have been if conservative forces in Congress and the country had been more alert and had rallied to defeat, *at the very beginning of the session last January*, the Rayburn proposal to pack the key House Rules Committee.

The Democratic Speaker's aim (at White House behest) was to eliminate the great power traditionally wielded by Representative Howard Smith (Va.), the conservative and economy-minded chairman of the Rules Committee, to block all kinds of spending bills. A ferocious parliamentary battle ensued, with Rayburn eventually winning by only five votes. If conservative forces had begun their work earlier, it is obvious that they could have defeated the Rayburn "packing" scheme; all they needed was a three-vote shift.

And if Representative Howard Smith had retained dominance over the Rules Committee, he would have undoubtedly sliced off much of the huge spending which occurred this last session. His victory over Rayburn would have had profound effects on the rest of the session. Few doubt that such an outcome would have materially checked the present inflationary trend with benefit to the whole economy. If all this had happened, the Kennedy Administration would have had no arguments—as it now has—that it emerged the victor in the past session.

Why did conservatives fail to meet this challenge last January? Observers say that it was the failure of a handful of conservatives in the House to correctly foresee the results of the victory of the Rules-packing scheme; and it was the failure of citizens' groups, economy groups and various political action groups to exert sufficient pressure on Congressmen to vote against the "packing" scheme.

Disarmament Agency: The law passed by Congress creating the "Arms Control and Disarmament Agency" may have represented more of a victory for Nikita Khrushchev than for President Kennedy, according to experts in Communist psychological warfare.

It was little noted by the press, but the Senate-House conference report adopted by the Congress represented a solid victory for those who have been trumpeting for a conciliatory approach toward Khrushchev. What has aroused the fears of the veteran anti-Communists is that the word "disarmament," originally deleted from the House version of the measure, was slipped back in during conference. This, it is believed, was because of some strong persuasion by the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Arkansas' J. William Fulbright, who served with the Senate-House group.

The Soviet dictator, it is noted, has carefully cultivated the word disarmament and in a January 6, 1961, speech called for all nations to disarm. Soviet experts say Khrushchev has used this word over and over in order psychologically to build free world resistance against stepping up its own defense measures.

Senator Karl E. Mundt (R.-S.D.) charged that passage of the bill was "a masterpiece of bad timing," which could be misinterpreted as "appeasement and weakness on our part."

ILO: Could this be an indicator of what may happen to the United Nations? The National Association of Manufacturers, one of the country's two biggest business organizations, has just revoked its participation in choosing an American employer delegate to the International Labor Organization, an agency of the UN and sole survivor from the old League of Nations. The NAM's board of directors said the ties were thus cut because the ILO had become dominated by Communists and related leftists.

The ILO, of which the US Government is a member, is supposed to work toward raising the standards of working people throughout the world. The US sends to Geneva meetings three delegates, plus a large staff. The delegates represent government, organized labor and business, and are named respectively by the Labor Department, the AFL-CIO and business organizations.

White House Pacifism: Republican Barry Goldwater last week read to the Senate a Chicago *Tribune* column by Walter Trohan which disclosed that Presidential Assistant Theodore C. "Ted" Sorensen "escaped military service" during the Korean War as a conscientious objector.

Stated Goldwater: "Anyone has a right to claim conscientious objection to combatant military service and I believe, as Mr. Trohan points out, that it very often requires more courage to seek this classification than to serve.

"However, I can't help but wonder at the thoughts of the fathers and mothers of American boys who right now are being called up for active military service when they learn that one of the President's closest advisers is an objector because of conscience."

Inflation: A conclave of international finance experts from 70 different countries met in Vienna last week and aimed some advice at the US. The United States, it was indicated, must hold down

Political Action Conference

HUMAN EVENTS will hold its third Political Action Conference Friday and Saturday, January 5 and 6, 1962, at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, D. C. "What You Can Do to Help Conservatives Win in 1962" will be the theme.

Senators and Representatives will speak and answer your questions. Many persons who attended the conferences last January and July have already registered. Conference fees for all sessions, and including breakfast, lunch, and dinner on both days, are $75 each; $45 for additional members of the immediate family (wives, sons and daughters), and for students, teachers and clergymen.

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its inflationary policies and wipe out the continuing balance of payments deficit. American Robert Garner, who served 14 years with the World Bank, made some interesting observations regarding programs of lavish aid to foreign countries. Said Garner: "Over the past 14 years I have visited some 50 countries . . . . The most substantial progress I have observed has come from the private sector . . . ."

Moreover, stated the former World Bank member, " . . . to most of the recipient countries [of US foreign aid] the amounts are never sufficient. In my opinion, they never can be, because money alone accomplishes nothing . . . . The effective spending of large funds requires experience, competence, honesty and organization. Lacking any of these factors, large injections of capital into developing nations can cause more harm than good." Referring unmistakably to some members of Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers, Garner stated:

"There are many prominent supporters of inflation who claim that it is a necessary adjunct of growth . . . but I have taken a close look at inflation . . . . I have seen it upset government; take the bread out of the mouths of workers, the old, the helpless; undermine the operation of business. So I continue to class it as a dangerous fever which gives the patient a temporary spurt but quickly saps his strength."

Welfare: It appears that the "Newburgh crusade" is leaving its mark—even in pressure group-ridden New York City. The GOP mayoralty ticket has come out for work programs for able-bodied reliefers, and last week the state welfare department announced that 142 "professional" relief recipients were taken off the rolls and returned to their original homes in Puerto Rico and the South.

State officials also charged that Southern states encouraged chronic reliefers to go North, especially to New York. Under new procedures, outlined since the Newburgh story broke, families that show no intention or prospect of becoming self-supporting after three months of relief in New York will be advised to return to their original homes.

Ethnic Group Drive: The Republican party has stepped up its efforts to win support among America's ethnic (Irish, Polish, Italian, etc.) groups.

GOP National Chairman William E. Miller of New York, GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee Chairman Barry Goldwater of Arizona and House Republican Campaign Committee Chairman Robert Wilson of California recently met with a top group of ethnic organization leaders in Washington. Paul Deac, editor of the National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups newspaper, the *NCAEG News*, told HUMAN EVENTS that there was much accord between the GOP and ethnic group leaders. The paper also noted that there is "growing disillusionment of the ethnic groups with the New Frontier."

Heading the Nationalities Division of the GOP National Committee is Congressman Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois. He will spend much post-congressional session time meeting with ethnic groups. He told HUMAN EVENTS: "Members of the ethnic groups are among the most self-reliant people in America, and their natural interests lie with the Republican party. This is the message we will strive to put across."

Capitol Camera: New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller, running at top speed for the 1964 Presidential nomination, refuses to promise New York voters he will serve out a four-year gubernatorial term if re-elected next year: "More politicians have gotten themselves into trouble answering that question than you can shake a stick at. I'm not going to be one of them."

• *Identified Communist Archie Brown, leader in the San Francisco riots against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is running for that city's Board of Supervisors.*

• A German court last week convicted a reporter for the lefty-sexy *Overseas Weekly* of slander in connection with Major General Edwin A. Walker. The reporter, a German national, was fined $300 and subsequently banned from all US Army installations after being found guilty of spreading the untrue story that Walker was suffering from a brain tumor.

• *Two weeks ago* This Week *magazine, the Sunday newspaper supplement, ran an article by Senator Barry Goldwater opposing Red Chinese recognition by the United Nations. It was followed by a box in which citizens were asked their opinion. Over one hundred thousand replies have been received, with the answers running better than* 98 *per cent for "no recognition."*

• Despite the widespread pacifist demonstrations in England, 95 leading British statesmen, writers and scientists have sent a "Freedom in Berlin" statement of non-appeasement to the Germans. The group was headed by Desmond Donelly, M. P.

• *Radio commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr., was recently awarded a medal for outstanding service to the country by American Legion Post* 1217 *in New York. Cardinal Spellman delivered the invocation. Among other recipients of this award have been Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer, Judge Harold Medina and William Randolph Hearst, Jr.*

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY ---

I think we have more machinery of government than is necessary, too many parasites living on the labor of the industrious.

—Thomas Jefferson

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A New Political Phenomenon

Resignation Rallies in Texas

By Kenneth Ingwalson
Assistant Publisher of HUMAN EVENTS

RESIGNATION RALLIES may be the next political phenomenon to sweep the Southern states. The first Rally will take place in Fort Worth. Several hundred conservative Democrats have accepted invitations. At 7:30 p.m. in the Texas Hotel on October 2nd, they will formally resign from the Democratic party and pledge their allegiance to the Republican party. They will be addressed by Jack Cox, who, as a conservative Democrat, obtained 41 per cent of the votes against Governor Price Daniel in the 1960 Democratic gubernatorial primary. Cox recently made nationwide news when he announced his switch from the Democratic party to the GOP.

A score of other Texas cities are expecting to follow suit—each attempting to outdo the Fort Worth Rally in size and enthusiasm. William A. Horan of Fort Worth, an executive of Colonial Cafeterias, is being swamped with inquiries on how Democrats can change over to the GOP—a sign that Resignation Rallies may spread to other Southern states.

The Fort Worth Rally is being co-chaired by Horan and Robert McHam, who were delegates to the 1960 National Democratic Convention and who attempted to repudiate their party's left-wing platform, but were not allowed to do so.

The Resignation movement is the spontaneous expression of growing resentment of the voting record this year of Southerners in Congress. Two or three years ago, about 33 per cent of the Southern members of the House and Senate could be labeled as liberals. Since JFK—if their voting record is the criterion—the proportion has climbed up toward 60 per cent.

Some 20 or 30 members are being labeled "Sell-Out" Congressmen. Until this year, they were partners in the unofficial Republican-Southern Democratic coalition, which since 1938 has defeated many New Deal proposals. But in the past nine months, they have yielded to the blandishments of New Frontier agents who have dangled before them Federal judgeships, pork barrel projects, localized exemptions to the minimum wage coverage, defense contracts, and military installations. Large numbers of Southerners feel a sense of outrage about the betrayal and intend to do something about it.

In Texas, the reaction has been to arrange for the mass transfer of memberships from the Democratic party to the Republican. The atmosphere in Texas is particularly favorable to this type of response.

First, the Texas Republican party is 100 per cent conservative. In the Bruce Alger tradition, the party—figuratively speaking—contains no liberals. In fact, Texas Republicans bluntly label themselves "Goldwater Republicans" to kill any doubts about their genuine conservatism.

Secondly, the exodus is encouraged by important liberal Democrats. Frank endorsement of the move has been given by the influential Texas *Observer* published in the State capital. This weekly newspaper is the unofficial organ of the extremely liberal DOT ("Democrats of Texas"); it is the unofficial voice of Senator Yarborough and of the wealthy, ultra-liberal Mrs. Frankie Randolph of Houston, who until recently was Democratic National Committeewoman. The *Observer* frankly says the Democratic party should get rid of all its conservatives. Yes, it admits, complete realignment would bring periodic Republican victories, but the *Observer* is willing to pay that price for the gain: a purist so-called liberal Democratic party.

The Observer *believes the Texas Democratic party should direct its appeal to the "minorities"—the Negroes, the Latin-American vote, the labor vote, and the so-called intellectuals. Add to these the State's brass-collar vote, an uninformed group of people, heaviest in East Texas, who, the* Observer *assumes, will stand for anything except voting Republican.*

To the Texas *Observer* announcements, Texas conservatives say "Amen." Conservatives, they say, are in the majority in their State; they hope the realignment eventually will result in massive GOP victories—in 1962 for the governorship and several congressional seats and in 1964 for the Yarborough seat in the US Senate. In many counties, committees have been formed to persuade personable young men and women to run for city and county offices—an essential if party strength is to be built from the bottom up.

The Resignation Rallies are just one more proof of the astonishing extent of the conservative resurgence. When large numbers of rank-and-file citizens in city after city come out for political rallies a year ahead of the next election, something extraordinary is happening. No political movement of comparable force has been seen in this Century. Possibly nothing like it, excepting the Abolition Movement, has happened in American history.

If the tide continues to rise, the 1962 elections may witness far greater gains for the conservative cause than anyone at this time is willing to predict.

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Living it Up -- African Style

From the Richmond News Leader

A FEW WEEKS ago, one Arsene Assouan Usher, age 30, moved into a $90,000 house at Lloyd Harbor, a plush section of Long Island. The property includes eight acres overlooking the water; a 42 room mansion will house the gentleman, his wife, their three children, and a staff of servants.

BOIGNY

USHER

And who is this affluent young man? A rising young executive? an heir to corporate millions? Not so. Mr. Usher is the ambassador to the United Nations from the Ivory Coast, one of the former French colonies that gained its independence a year ago. The estate has been purchased for him out of the same sense of munificence by which the Ivory Coast's president, Mouphouet Boigny, has built himself an $11,000,000 marble palace back home in Abidjan.

Nor is the Ivory Coast the only underdeveloped, poverty stricken, aid-seeking African republic to set a style of high living to which the leaders of older nations would like to become accustomed. A New York correspondent for the London *Sunday Telegraph* recently put together an eye opening account of lavish spending by other objects of Mr. Kennedy's solicitude.

Ghana, for example, is held up as an infant republic that cannot possibly make ends meet on its own revenues. Hat in hand, Dr. Nkrumah is seeking credit where he can find it. His cause is not greatly helped, it might be suggested, by the chartered BOAC airliner that brought him and a party of 34 to a recent session of the United Nations. Dr. Nkrumah expected to be in New York only two days; he was to make one speech. But his staff, which shortly grew to 70, took 40 suites in the Waldorf-Astoria, where an elegant reception was held.

At that, Ghana's reception in New York was mere tea and scones compared to a dinner the Indonesian embassy threw in Washington last month for 1,200 guests. A goggle eyed guest, fairly well inured to eating high on the Washington hog, staggered from the affair saying he never had seen anything to touch it. His guess was that the bill, from invitations to tips, ran to at least $35,000 and might have hit $50,000. And Indonesia is broke, too.

It's bad form, we suppose, to raise even an eyebrow at this sort of outlay, but no student of American history is likely to forget the frugal allowances and Spartan quarters the infant United States provided her own diplomats 150 years ago. Some American consuls, to hear tell, still are tapping the weevils out of their biscuits. But perhaps styles change in infant nations, as they change in everything else, and one ought not to complain excessively at the insouciant spending of republics seeking foreign aid. After all, easy come, easy go.

Easy come from whom, bub?

Congressman Cramer's Taped Interview—$7

Republican William C. Cramer, of Florida's First Congressional District, is the guest on this week's Congressional Interview. Mr. Cramer, now serving his fourth term as the only GOP Congressman elected by Florida since 1875, discusses signs of growing Republican strength in the South.

CRAMER

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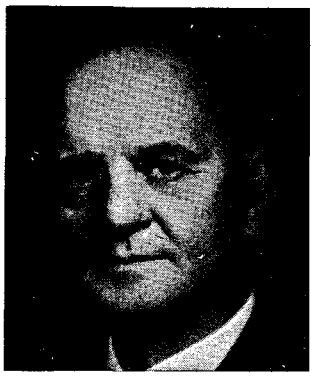
An Interview With Georgia's Carl Vinson

By Dorothy Barrow in the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle

IT WAS EARLY on a very crisp morning in July when I arrived to keep an appointment with Sixth District Congressman, Honorable Carl Vinson. Our discussion was friendly, but our views on domestic and foreign issues were irreconcilable. Our conversation ranged over the field of a strong centralized government versus a limited constitutional government; spending and regulations versus the free enterprise system; deficit financing and inflation versus fiscal solvency; and compromise appeasement versus a firm stand against communism. On all of these issues I found my views to be in direct opposition to those of my representative.



REP. VINSON

Having followed Congressman Vinson's voting record, I knew he favored extensive federal spending and that he had voted favorably on the Administration's legislative program, that he favored federal aid to education and the President's five-year foreign aid program. However, I was anxious to understand the reasoning behind his views. But instead of getting a philosophic rebuttal of my views, I received all of the well-worn cliches of socialism.

My repeated efforts to gain from Mr. Vinson a stand on constitutional government failed. My referral to the corruption of the Tenth Amendment and the interstate commerce and general welfare clauses, together with the catch-all use of the Fourteenth Amendment, brought forth no defense of constitutional principles. This, however, should be understandable since he feels that the government should "take care" of the people. His basic thesis that wealth should be equalized through the power of government was clearly revealed. He stated that this Administration is going to do more to help the little man and the middle class than any other Administration and this is as it should be—those who are more able should give to those who are less able.

Mr. Vinson feels that the more wealthy states should help the less wealthy ones and reasoned that Georgians should be pleased with the federal aid to education bill because the state would receive $75 million more than she would contribute.

On the question of fiscal solvency, Mr. Vinson's statements were unbelievable. Commenting on government spending, he stated that it was highly important and necessary, and added: "You should not worry about the $300 billion debt. It will take care of itself."

When I called to his attention the fact that our national and state debts were larger than the rest of the world's combined, he readily admitted that this was true but that we were the most wealthy nation and should therefore continue to share our wealth. In addition, he stated that by giving goods to other countries we help to create prosperity at home.

"Uncle Carl," as he is known on Capitol Hill, has been the chairman of the powerful House Armed Services Committee for many years. This has given him an opportunity to study America's defense posture in terms of armaments and men. He has been instrumental in obtaining increased appropriations for defense and has shaped legislation which preserved the Marine Corps and established the Air Force Academy. For those services he has been honored. Recognizing these services rendered in the defense of America, it is difficult to understand his apparent complacent attitude regarding the global advances of communism.

I expressed the opinion that many of his constituents were frightened regarding the soft attitude the Administration has taken toward communism. He replied that the present Administration is doing everything possible to fight communism and that the President's foreign aid program was one of the great weapons in the fight. When questioned about our past success in buying allies with dollars, he remarked. "Of course, we have been successful!"

I told Mr. Vinson that many people were ashamed of our blundering in the Cuban fiasco. His only comment was a question: "Would you want Jefferson County boys to fight on Cuban soil?" He stated that he thought that it was better to talk than to act, to negotiate than to fight, and that he knew of NO instance whereby America had ever compromised with communism.

When I asked what steps the Administration was taking to fight communism other than foreign aid, he replied: "Loyalty oaths." I then called his attention to the fact that Peace Corpsmen were not required to take loyalty oaths nor were the recipients of scholarships under the National Defense Education Act. This brought no comment.

As I was getting up to leave, Mr. Vinson asked me to go back and tell the people that he favored the free enterprise system.

Economy and Government

I place economy among the first and most important virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be faced . . . To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt . . . We must make our choice between economy and liberty or profusion and servitude . . . if we run into such debts, we must be taxed on our meat and drink, in our necessities and our comforts, in our labors and our amusements . . . If we can prevent the Government from wasting the labors of the people, under the pretense of caring for them, they will be happy.

—Thomas Jefferson

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Franklin D. Roosevelt at Tehran

By Walter Trohan

DEVASTATING disclosures of disastrous diplomacy played by Franklin D. Roosevelt with Josef Stalin at Tehran have received comparatively little attention in the American press, although the revelations are loaded with significance in the light of today's summitry.

At Tehran, in December, 1943, F.D.R. asked for private meetings with Stalin and negotiated behind Winston Churchill's back. F.D.R. was interested in winning Stalin's help to keep the votes of descendants of nations now behind the iron curtain in the Roosevelt pocket for the 1944 campaign.

At Vienna in June, President Kennedy undertook fruitless negotiations with Stalin's successor, Nikita S. Khrushchev, behind the back of Churchill's successor, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, and French President Charles de Gaulle.

It is within the province of speculation to wonder whether President Kennedy did not undertake his private meetings with an eye toward enhancing his 1964 political prospects by coming out of the sessions with distinction, if not advantage. He won neither.

Since the Tehran conference, there were many demands for publication of the minutes of the high level meeting; publication was delayed until now when the disclosures can hardly be expected to be translated into political indignation at the polls.

Disclosure in 1944 of the dealing away of nations and peoples might conceivably have cost F.D.R. the election in 1944. It is likely they would have spelled defeat for Harry S. Truman in 1948 and possibly for President Kennedy last fall. Now they hardly ripple national consciousness.

There was more excitement in Europe, especially in England, about the publication of the conference papers than in America. In England, indignation centered about dealing behind Churchill's back, a matter of national pride. In the rest of Europe, a grim lesson was seen in F.D.R.'s playing palsy-walsy with Stalin to the extent of joking about the fate of peoples and nations.

In dealing with the future of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, F.D.R. displayed himself as cynical as his terrible ally. The President said there were, in the United States, six to seven million Americans of Polish extraction, whose votes he did not want to alienate.

F.D.R. said he didn't want to run again, but said he might have to if the war was still in progress. Then he asked Stalin not to rock the boat of his political fortunes by asking him to take part publicly in any boundary shifts of the Polish state.

F.D.R. said he favored moving the eastern border farther to the west, which would give a considerable zone of Poland to Russia, and compensating Poland with German territory to the Oder river. This was done ultimately, and at Tehran F.D.R. expressed his approval, although he did not want to partake in any arrangement at the moment.

F.D.R. also said that he personally accepted Russian annexation of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, saying he realized that all three had been a part of Russia up to the Versailles treaty.

Jokingly he told Stalin that when the Russian armies reoccupied those nations, he did not intend to go to war with Russia on this point. He added that he was confident that the people themselves would vote to go with Russia after the war.

Then F.D.R. revealed his estimate of the intellect of the people whose votes he was to woo. Stalin said he didn't know why the question of American public opinion on a referendum in the three Baltic states was being raised. F.D.R. replied, according to the published papers, that "the truth of the matter was that the public neither knew or understood."

It is evident that the public did not know what F.D.R.'s attitude was on handing over nations to Stalin. The Roosevelt image has been so securely fixed that it is to be doubted that it will be dimmed by the disclosure of the enormity of his cynicism.

The fate of his image is relatively unimportant as compared with the public's demand of the right to know details of international relations which spell peace or war.

How to Stop a Strike

From Labor Forecast and Review

Here's how to stop a strike in 10 seconds—The other day, in the town of Dagenham, England, a normally meek housewife with the grand old name of Smith broke up a strike against the American-owned Ford Motor Company plant.

For one long week, Mrs. Evelyn Smith listened to the yak-yak of the strike leaders, meanwhile watching the stoppage cut into the family savings.

At the week's end, she'd had it. So she mounted a platform at a mass rally, grabbed a mike, and spoke for 10 seconds.

"I'm an ordinary wife of a Ford worker," she said, "and I think I'm entitled to speak—WHY DON'T YOU ALL GO BACK TO WORK?"

There were scattered boos and catcalls. But Mrs. Smith had scored. In a subsequent vote, the strikers elected to defy their leaders and return to work.

Said Mrs. Smith: "I was fed up seeing my husband sitting around miserable at home. The union leaders just don't represent the men any more."

Said husband Smith: "I'm proud of her."

Say we:

Wish Mrs. Smith would take the next US bound jet. We sure could use her.

Published weekly at 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. **REPRINTS** of this section available: single copy 20c; 10 for $1; 25 for $2; 100 for $5; 500 for $20; 1,000 for $30. Order by section number and date of issue.

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Vol. XVIII, No. 40—Section III HUMAN EVENTS October 6, 1961

The St. Louis Newspaper War

Conservative Globe-Democrat Gains On Liberal Post-Dispatch

IN SIX SHORT YEARS, a hard-hitting, conservatively-oriented, civic-minded St. Louis publisher and his newspaper have knocked into a cocked hat their rival's old boast of being the city's only great newspaper.

In 1955, the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* was leaderless under an elderly owner who lost much interest in his property after the death of his only son. It was also wallowing in red ink and suffering from its competitor's exalted reputation.

The *Globe-Democrat,* a morning daily, was nearly 100,000 behind the afternoon *Post-Dispatch* in daily circulation. Its ad lineage was an anemic 29 per cent of the total. Its afternoon rival had sewed up a fat 71 per cent and was reaching for more.

That picture of Mutt and Jeff has been sharply redrawn.

In six short years, the *Globe-Democrat* has gained nearly 65,000 daily circulation. It stands today at 341,503—an all-time high for the paper—and among the largest of any morning American dailies. Its ad lineage is also up, and now totals 39 per cent and is gaining.

Circulation, Advertising Drop

In the meantime, the *Post-Dispatch* has slipped in both circulation and advertising. It has actually lost 10,000 daily circulation, while the *Globe-Democrat* gained. Its lineage, while up, is a far smaller slice of the pie than its ad salesmen were cutting off six years ago.

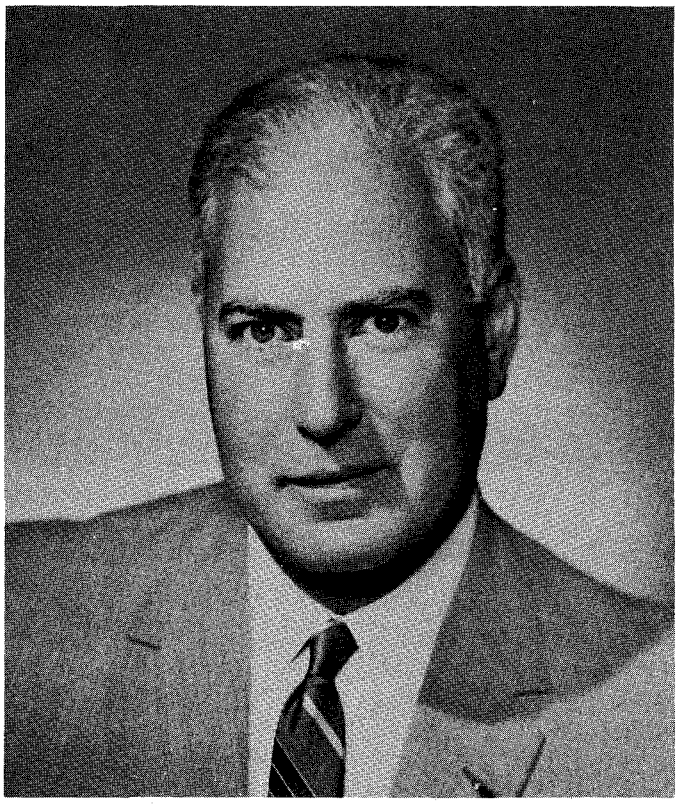
This rapid gain on a newspaper that was once considered a giant in its field has attracted national attention. Both *Newsweek* and *Time* carried full-page reports last year on how the *Globe-Democrat* did it.

Many observers, among them Publisher Richard Hiller Amberg, believe that the *Globe-Democrat* would now be first in circulation—and even more important, in ad lineage—except for a crippling strike.

In 1959, the *Globe-Democrat* was shut down for 99 days by the St. Louis local of the American Newspaper Guild. While it was closed, the *Post-Dispatch* did its utmost to grab off every line of advertising and every reader it could from the struck paper.

When the *Globe-Democrat* resumed publication, it found that its cut-throat competitor had picked up 65,000 circulation—and hundreds of thousands of lines of advertising. Three months after the strike was over, the *Post-Dispatch* had lost the entire 65,000 subscribers and 5,000 more besides. In newspaper circles, such losses are considered ominous.

The *Globe-Democrat* in less than a year's time gained back every reader—and then some. In newspaper circles, this performance is considered little short of miraculous.



AMBERG

Observers of the newspaper scene cannot recall a single instance in modern American journalism where a newspaper took such savage advantage of a stricken rival.

'One Down, All Down'

In most cases, newspapers have a code of ethics that might be summed up as: "One down, all down." Thus, when one New York, Cleveland, Boston or Detroit daily has been struck all its competitors voluntarily shut off their presses and do not resume printing until the dispute is settled.

At the very least, a reputable paper does not attempt to exploit another's labor troubles. Even if it continues to publish, it confines itself to its regular readers and advertisers. It does not even want to accept its rival's circulation and advertising lineage. By contrast, the Post-Dispatch *did everything it could to woo away the* Globe-Democrat's.

This hitting below the belt may be due to the fact that there is a deep ideological split between the two papers—as well as the normal rivalry for news, readers and advertisers.

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PUBLISHER AMBERG has often described how he sized up the situation in St. Louis when he arrived in 1955. He says:

"I believed the *Globe-Democrat* should have a conservative and constructive editorial point of view, and that this crusading, but fair, spirit should be reflected on the news side.

"Our editorial page doesn't throw dead cats, and the city editor doesn't rake muck.

"The editorial page denounces what is wrong, but is ready with a constructive remedy. The news columns expose social evils and political corruption, but call attention to ways to reform both.

"The *Globe-Democrat,* to revert to baseball idiom, tries to take a hard, clean cut at the ball, every time it is up at the plate. Sometimes we miss, but the community respects us for doing our best."

The opposition, Publisher Amberg says, seems to confuse character assassination with crusading journalism. He cites, as an example, how the *Post-Dispatch* spread all over page one the old, forgotten prison record of a man who had gone straight for 35 years —and became a respected millionaire industrialist.

The two papers are poles apart on important public issues. For example:

- **Recognition of Red China**—Ridiculous, says the *Globe-Democrat;* by all means, says its competitor.

- **The Ban on Tests of Nuclear Weapons**—Resume our tests, said the *Globe-Democrat,* claiming Moscow was unquestionably cheating; negotiate, said its competitor, you can trust the Russians.

- **Medical Care for the Aged**—Rely on voluntary insurance, except for the indigent, instead of a risky scheme of Federal "socialized medicine," the *Globe-Democrat* says; try it, says its competitor.

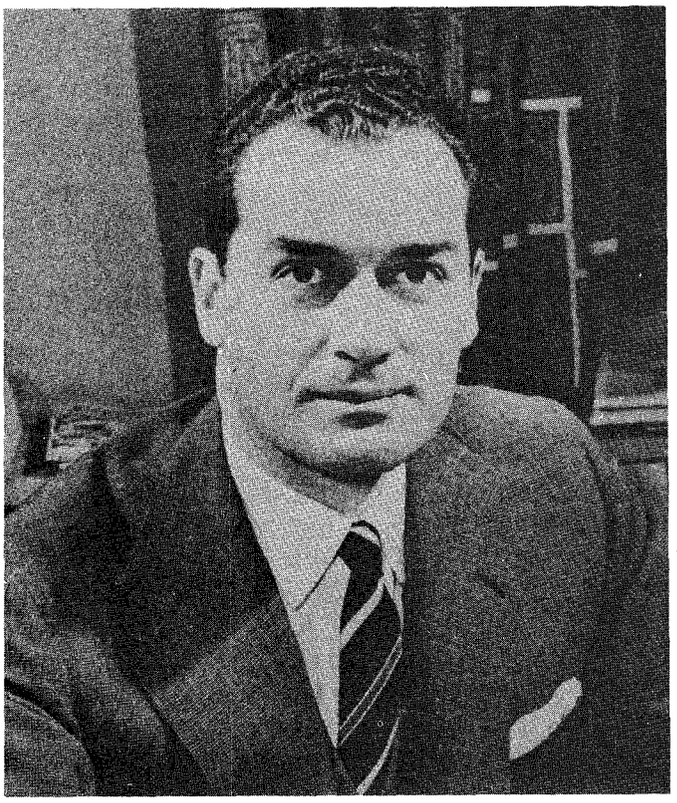
- **Federal Aid to Education**—Keep Federal funds and Federal control out of our local school districts, the *Globe-Democrat* warns; Federal school aid is our only hope, pants its competitor.

- **Tractors for Prisoners**—Blackmail, said the *Globe;* great idea, said the *Post.*

The conservative Globe-Democrat, *like any good citizen of its community, is vitally interested in local affairs. Its competitor is often more wrapped up with what goes on abroad than what goes on in St. Louis.*

The *Globe-Democrat's* keen interest in local problems has led it to take up many crusades for better government and other reforms. It has led the fight:

- To unsnarl the city's traffic tangles;
- To lift tolls off the city's bridges, and is given credit for a new toll-free bridge across the Mississippi River about to be built;
- To enforce zoning and housing codes;
- To make bankers pay interest on deposits of idle State funds;



PULITZER

- To withhold State income taxes;
- To obtain free public-schooling for retarded children;
- To permit limited branch banking in Missouri and Illinois;
- To replace Missouri's "snake pits" with decent mental hospitals;
- To smash a powerful oil lobby's effort to deprive the State of adequate highway funds;
- To lift the State sales tax off food and drugs;
- To improve airline service for St. Louis.

Emerson said that an institution is merely the lengthened shadow of a man. The revitalized *Globe-Democrat* is the lengthened shadow of its publisher.

Active in Community Affairs

Publisher Amberg is 48 and was a Navy Commander in World War II. He is deeply involved in community affairs and is an acting director of more than 24 local organizations. These include the United Fund, the Children's Hospital, the Society for Crippled Children, the Metropolitan Church Federation, the Salvation Army, the YMCA, the Boy Scouts of America, the St. Louis Municipal Opera, the Central Institute for the Deaf, the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce and others.

He is a deacon of the Presbyterian Church and a 32nd degree Mason. But he is on the President's Council of St. Louis University, a Jesuit school.

Amberg is a trustee of Wells and McKendree Colleges. He served in several top appointments for President Eisenhower and while in Syracuse, New York, was named to several positions of service by former Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

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He and his counterpart on the *Post-Dispatch,* Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., are as unlike as their newspapers.

PUBLISHER PULITZER, also 48, is an avid collector of modern painting and is more at home in an art gallery than in the composing room. He is more interested in Picasso than in deadlines.

Pulitzer is miscast in the publisher's role and would be more comfortable as the curator of a museum. This aloof art collector is an habitue of the ivory tower, like the *Post-Dispatch.*

Publisher Amberg has printer's ink on his cuffs, if not in his veins. He began as editor of the small Oil City (Pennsylvania) *Blizzard,* and later held executive posts on *Newsday,* the New York *Herald-Tribune* and the Syracuse (New York) *Post-Standard* where he was publisher when he was tapped to run the *Globe-Democrat.*

Publisher Pulitzer, the grandson of the legendry Joseph Pulitzer, has hardly more than a nodding acquaintance with newspaper work.

Publisher Amberg, a keen, ambitious competitor, an experienced and articulate newspaper man, believes his kind of conservative viewpoint and community leadership is what St. Louis needs—and wants.

The *Globe-Democrat's* climbing circulation and lineage are solid evidence that he is right.

How the Globe-Democrat Views the World Crisis

Excerpts from recent editorials by Publisher Richard H. Amberg

NOT MUCH LEFT TO GIVE

–May 31, 1961

Most Americans will view with deep dismay the substantial additional concessions made by United States negotiators at the nuclear talks in Geneva, in the face of no meaningful concession of any sort from the Russians.

This position of making additional concessions to the Russians, especially in view of their completely unyielding attitude towards our reasonable demands for foolproof assurance, has prompted many outstanding Senators and Congressmen of both political parties to urge the President to resume nuclear testing. They share a common concern that we may find the Russians with a hopelessly great lead in this vital field, made possible by their surreptitious testing while we stand idly by, foolishly faithful to our own self-imposed ban.

During the campaign, Mr. Kennedy stated that he would make one more good try to get a meaningful treaty on nuclear testing and, failing this, would resume our tests. Certainly there has been plenty of time in the more than four months since he came to office for at least one small ray of hope to illumine the horizon. No such hope has appeared.

By making this further concession without winning anything of any value from the Russians, and by compounding it by stating that the United States would give Russia all the results of our lunar testing without any such commitment from them, the President further has weakened an already weak position, as he heads toward his summit conference with Khrushchev in Vienna.

There is only one language which the Russians understand—and that is strength.

When we have negotiated from a position of strength, we sometimes have achieved something.

We have never achieved anything when negotiating from a position of weakness.

Yet, President Kennedy is weakening his own position right along. When, in Heaven's name, will he learn?

Mr. President: SEIZE THE INITIATIVE

–July 19, 1961

If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?

Corinthians XIV, 8.

The United States' warning to the Soviet Union that any unilateral settlement of the Berlin controversy by the Reds could lead to "highly dangerous developments" is necessary, timely and impressive. If the Russians believe it.

This statement, a reaction to Khrushchev's recent threats, highlights the greatest need of American foreign policy—which is that we must create situations favorable to ourselves rather than content ourselves, as we have for so many years, with reacting to situations created by others.

When we went to the brink of war to defend Quemoy and Matsu, we meant what we said and we were in a position to follow through. The result is that the strength and integrity of our Free Chinese allies on Formosa have been maintained.

When the Communists threatened Lebanon, General Eisenhower sent the Marines in—and the situation was stabilized and has remained favorable to the West.

Conversely, Mr. Kennedy has talked big and acted small. The result has been the unmitigated disaster of the April invasion of Cuba and the eroding away of our position in Laos.

To our sorrow, however, Quemoy, Lebanon, Cuba and Laos are simply reactions, not the achieving by diplomatic initiative of situations of inherent, abiding future strength for America.

GUNS OR BUTTER?

–July 28, 1961

As sentiment has crystallized following the President's speech on Tuesday night, it now appears that virtually every segment of the American public is solidly behind him in his determination to increase our national strength in the face of the Berlin crisis.

Congress is prepared to give him all he needs for national strength and security. This is as it should be

The President, in consultation with his military advisers and in full possession of all possible evaluated information as to the enemy's strength and capabilities, is in the best position to determine America's needs.

At the same time, the call for an end to social experimentation and the Kennedy Administration's headlong give-away programs should be heeded.

He still seems to be in a miasma of make-believe—that we can have guns and butter; that we can spend fantastic sums for defense and fabulous amounts for social experimentation, and never be called upon to pay the piper.

It just isn't so. President Kennedy knows that it isn't

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so. Yet, up to now, he has failed to face up to these realities.

Most of all, he has failed to call for the elimination of featherbedding, make work, and jurisdictional disputes, which have greatly hampered the defense effort —possibly because of his fear of harming the finer sensibilities of some of his friends in the labor movement.

America no longer can stand the luxury of our citizenry doing less than their honest best—which a great number of our people are doing now—than we can afford the luxury of guns and butter.

NO SURRENDER IN BERLIN

—August 15, 1961

In the Soviet world, there is no satiety; no satisfaction; no fulfillment. Giving or compromising is a sign of weakness, which is the tragedy in Senator Fulbright's and Senator Mansfield's remarks on the desirability of compromise. These ill-timed statements by top Democratic leaders may well have paved the way for the present crisis.

There can be no compromise. Either we are in Berlin legally, in which case we cannot give away our rights until a vote has been taken on the reunification of Germany, or we have no right there at all.

Any diminution of our rights, such as the current episode closing the border, will lead to more and more giving on our part, a continuing process, as the President so well stated last week, of "what's mine is mine and let's negotiate for your part."

The only answer which the Russians can understand and which will avert war in Berlin is a strong, swift, determined, meaningful opposition to current Russian acts of illegality.

PRAISE THE LORD, PASS THE AMMUNITION

—September 3, 1961

In World War II, there was a popular song with a fine sentiment: "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition." This might be sound advice today.

Only the completely naive can place any reliance on any collective action, except of our own making. Any hope that the United Nations could even begin to solve the problems of the world today went out the window with Khrushchev's brutal announcement of the resumption of "dirty" testing, and his exploding an intermediate range bomb the next day.

The United Nations now is only a sounding board for letting off steam, but nothing more in a crisis such as those posed by Khrushchev.

Thus, the great reliance for peace in the world—indeed, the only reliance—is on the strength of the United States. Every thought, every nerve, every sinew of the American government and the American people must be dedicated to strength for America.

Nothing will stop Khrushchev in his mad plunge, except the continuing ever-present knowledge that should he attempt to attack us, he and his whole nation will be obliterated from the face of the earth by our retaliatory force.

MUST EVERYBODY LOVE US?

—September 6, 1961

Being realists, the Russians recognize that the cheers of the rest of the world are for the winners, not the losers, and that most of the world, particularly the underdeveloped and emerging nations want most of all to be on the winning team.

Strength is the essential ingredient to being the winner in today's world. The Russians simply decided to take whatever faint risks there were in unfavorable world opinion on their current tests and the rest of the world be damned.

This is exactly the decision which they made in the rape of Hungary in 1956. They knew that there would be protests from the West when they brutally crushed the revolt of the Hungarian patriots, but they decided that these protests would do them far less harm than the damage of a successful revolt.

While we do not condone either of the Bolshevik decisions, one cannot help but admire the fixity of purpose to their own self-interest which dictated these decisions, as contrasted with the preoccupation of the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations with our standing in the world and their obsessive concern that we must be loved by everyone.

While we have been catering to this Gallup Poll philosophy, we may well have lost the sinews with which to maintain peace in the world, which is infinitely more important than popularity polls taken among the nations of Africa and Asia.

Thus, it is perfectly all right to make every respectable effort which does not compromise our national self-interest in the fields of atomic testing and disarmament, but while we are doing this, let's in the name of sanity proceed with the urgent business at hand—which is the building of strength for America.

BEWARE A NEW PEACE OFFENSIVE

—September 9, 1961

America should brace itself for an anticipated Communist propaganda barrage designed to hold the offensive against anticipated criticism and intensify Western paralysis.

When Khrushchev's anticipated peace offensive comes, he will almost surely be joined by the African nations which daily abuse us and glorify him and by the defeatist thinkers and left-wing newspapers in the United States.

This is what we have most to guard against. If Khrushchev wants peace, he can abundantly demonstrate his desire for it in meaningful terms.

The United States and its President will do well to remember that the only salvation for America is in strength, not in baseless and faithless Russian promises, nor in negotiations which, in the past, have inevitably cost us unworthy surrender or whetted Russian appetites for larger and greater concessions in the future.

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In the Soviet Famine of 1921-23

Hoover Saved Millions of Russian Lives

From the Chicago Tribune

(*The following Chicago* Tribune *editorial comments about the recently-completed third volume of former President Hoover's* An American Epic: Famine in Forty-Five Nations, *published by the Henry Regnery Company of Chicago,* $6.50. *In excerpts from the new volume on the reverse page, Hoover recalls how the Communists, after initially professing everlasting gratitude to the American people, have denounced and defamed the efforts of the American Relief Administration which stemmed the tide of Russia's great famine of* 1921-23.)

THE "JUST BROWSING" author today is ex-President Herbert Hoover, writing about American relief to Russian famine sufferers from 1921 to 1923 [see reverse page]. During these years he was not only Secretary of Commerce but also director of the American Relief Administration. His account of the Russian Communists' expressions of genuine gratitude at the time for American relief work in Russia and their later lies about it is only a part of an immensely interesting and instructive story.

HERBERT HOOVER

Surely no venture in foreign aid has ever made limited resources accomplish so much under such adverse conditions as did the American Relief Administration's work in Russia. Latter day churlishness on the part of the Communists cannot obscure the fact that here is a success story worth remembering as long as hunger and international friction exist. This story tells how the hungry were fed despite distance—the geographical distance that separates Russia and the United States and the political distance that already separated the two countries in 1921.

Mr. Hoover's table of resources developed to meet the famine shows a total of 87.6 million dollars—with deductions for duplications, a net amount of 80.8 millions. The sources of this money are a fascinating mixture (of grain corporation profits earned trading with neutrals during World War I), 18.6 million dollars. From voluntary contributions through religious groups in the United States (the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Catholic Welfare Council and others), 15.2 million dollars. From the Soviet government, 11.3 million dollars. And so on, including millions from direct individual gifts, from the American Red Cross, from resources remaining after earlier relief programs, and from the United States War Department (in medical supplies). Support for a single program from such diverse sources may seem incredible today, but it happened in the '20's.

Agreed conditions of relief administration were formally stated in a document signed at Riga on August 20, 1921, by Maxim Litvinov for the Soviet government and Walter Lyman Brown for the Americans. These terms were imperfectly observed by the Russians, but when violations approached the insufferable, American firmness elicited constructive intervention from Commissar Leo Kamenev. In general, the necessary cooperation from the Soviet government was forthcoming throughout the relief work.

The American relief operation was almost wholly staffed by volunteers. These included hundreds of the highest caliber. For example, Hoover's first field investigators in Russia were Dr. Vernon Kellogg, director of the National Research Council, and James P. Goodrich, former governor of Indiana. Head of the staff in Russia was Colonel William N. Haskell, of the Army General Staff. The medical work was directed by Colonel Henry Beeuwkes of the Army Medical Corps. Many of the younger men achieved national distinction later. No wonder that Hoover "glows with pride" as he thinks of the men recruited by the American Relief Administration, "an unofficial volunteer charitable organization."

The purpose of all this effort was realized when food, clothing, medicine, and seed reached individual Russians who could not have survived the famine without relief from America.

The contrast between the success of this operation and the failure of current foreign aid programs arises from no one thing. But the many considerations that enabled a million dollars administered by Hoover's organization to accomplish more than a billion spent now on "foreign aid" can be briefly summarized.

Hoover's program was person to person, not government to government. It brought the essentials of life, not military or industrial hardware. It was directed by volunteers of the highest quality, not by mediocre bureaucrats. The undertaking depended on both public support in the United States and cooperation by officials of the foreign government; it did not go on of its own momentum as our aid does today after the confidence of the American public had been forfeited and after foreign governments had made a record of diverting American aid from their own needy.

All this is worth remembering.

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Once Grateful Reds Defame Famine Aid

By Herbert Hoover

ON JULY 18, 1923, the Sovnarkom [The Soviet People's Commissars] gave a dinner for our American staff. There were present the Communist dignitaries—Commissars Kamenev, Chicherin, Krassin, and Semashko. In *Izvestia* of July 20, 1923, Kamenev's speech was given as follows:

". . . Comrade Kamenev expressed profound gratitude to the American people, to the head of the American Relief Administration—Hoover—to Col. Haskell and his co-workers, for the relief, unexampled in history, given by America to Russia in the period of its greatest trial . . . .

"Upon learning of the coming departure of the representatives of the A. R. A., the *Sovnarkom* passed a resolution, thanking the American people . . . for responding in the trying year of a great elemental calamity . . . coming self-sacrificingly to its aid . . . .

"Thanks to the tremendous, utterly unselfish efforts of the A. R. A., millions of people of all ages were saved from death, and whole villages and even cities were saved from the terrible catastrophe that was threatening them. At the present time, when with the termination of the famine, the grandiose work of the A. R. A. has come to an end, the Soviet People's Commissars, in the name of the saved millions and of the whole toiling people of Soviet Russia and its united republics, considers it its duty to express before the whole world, to this organization, its head, Herbert Hoover, Col. Haskell, its representative in Russia, and all his co-workers, its profoundest gratitude, and to declare that the people populating the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics will never forget the help given by the American people through the A. R. A. . . ."

I had previously received the following letter from Gorky: ". . . Permit me to express my feelings of gratitude . . . and complete satisfaction with the humanitarian work of the American Relief Administration of which you are chairman. In the last year you have saved from death 3½ million children, 5½ million adults, 15,000 students, and have now added 200 or more Russians of the learned professions . . . . In all the history of human suffering I know of . . . no accomplishment which in terms of magnitude and generosity can be compared to the relief that you have actually accomplished . . . ."

The Communists soon began to realize that an expression of gratitude to a free nation was a violation of the primary tenet of communism. It would be an acknowledgement to the Russian people of some merit in capitalism.

In 1926, information supplied to some European journalists explained that my activities were due to my expectation that I could secure the return of my "Russian mines." I have doubt whether any refutation of Communist lies is worthwhile, but in case there is a doubting Thomas, I may say that for some years I had been an engineer to several mining enterprises. And I had given up this connection five years before the relief of Russia in order to conduct relief in Europe. If these mines had been returned to their rightful owners, I would not have benefited one dime . . . .

IN THE PRESIDENTIAL campaigns of 1928 and 1932, the Communists employed and paid speakers to travel and elaborate diligently various defamations. Mr. William Benton published in *The Yale Review* a most interesting study of the anatomy and perfection of this big lie. He gives the following translation from the official *Soviet Great Encyclopedia*, the 1926 edition: "The work of the A. R. A. was limited to supplying children foodstuffs. In 1922 five million children were receiving A. R. A. rations. In that year A. R. A. undertook also to supply adults and a total of 10 million people were receiving the rations . . . ."

The 1950 edition said: "The capitalist world tried to use the difficulties of the U. S. S. R. Saboteurs and spies were setting fire to Soviet plants or attempting to blow them up. The A. R. A. helped this enemy activity." The 1956 edition of the *Soviet Great Encyclopedia* presents a further contribution to the liquidation of Herbert Hoover. Mr. Benton says: "This article converts Hoover into the murderer of millions of Russians instead of the savior of millions from starvation as reported a generation earlier."

Further perfection of the big lie came from Soviet First Deputy Premier Kozlov during a tour of the United States. The New York *World-Telegram and Sun* of July 2, 1959, stated in part: "Kozlov, making a tour of this country, told President Eisenhower yesterday the United States contributions to stem the famine were a loan that this country forced Russia to pay in gold."

I gave a short interview to the press as follows: "The Russians were very thankful at the time for the food we gave them in the 1921-1923 famine, but they've been trying to forget our help ever since. It was not a loan and not a dime was ever asked for or paid. At the direct request of the Soviet government we raised about 62 million dollars and provided the Russians with more than 100,000 tons of food, clothing, and medical supplies as an absolute gift."

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The Foreign Policy Association

THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION is a tax-exempt educational organization, operating in every state, dedicated to the "understanding of foreign policy problems." Its influence on American opinion, in the schools and churches and voting booths, is tremendous. Well-meaning individuals of national import, Senators and Congressmen, churchmen and scholars, have lent their names to the organization, but few have any real idea of the group they have endorsed. What then is the nature of this group, which exercises such a pervasive influence over the mind of America?

• To the Fulton (Atlanta, Ga.) County Grand Jury, it is an organization whose "insidious and subversive material" must be banned from the schools.

• To the special House Committee Investigating Tax-Exempt Foundations, it is a group falsely parading under a mantle of objectivity, actively promoting "the globalism concept."

• To Alger Hiss, it is an organization with which he advocated "close collaboration."

FPA's scope is national, a fact which can be readily seen from a glance at the group's operations. Culling its money primarily from private contributions and grants, the FPA had a budget of $1,212,500 in fiscal 1958-59. This sum paid for high-priced headquarters in New York, with regional offices in Atlanta, Georgia; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Denver, Colorado; and San Francisco, California. Ninety individuals presently work out of the New York office, with an undetermined number on the payroll in the regional offices.

On top of this, another 25 clock in at a subsidiary called the World Affairs Center for the United States, set up in 1957 by the FPA and the Carnegie Institute for Peace, once headed by Alger Hiss. Leading bankrollers for this offshoot are the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Heading FPA's operation for some time was Vera Micheles Dean, who held the title of Research Director. Mrs. Dean directed the activities of 90 hirelings, and was responsible for the reports and booklets that FPA distributed to schools and "study groups" across the country. Anti-Communist scholar Felix Wittmer testified about Mrs. Dean before the Reece Committee during its investigation of tax-exempt foundations:

"Mrs. Dean belonged to those who in 1937 signed their names in the Golden Book of Soviet-American friendship, a memorial which appeared in the Communist front magazine, *Soviet Russia Today*, of November, 1937. According to testimony of Walter S. Steele before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1947, Mrs. Dean's writings figured in the Communist propaganda kit for teachers of the National Council of Soviet-American Friendship."

Dr. Wittmer went on to describe another of Mrs. Dean's active interests, the Congress of American Women, which was exposed as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Collaborators with Mrs. Dean in that operation were Tsola N. Dragoichev of Bulgaria and Mme. Madeleine Braun, two of the world's ranking Communist agents.

AN INSIGHT into Mrs. Dean's personal ideology can be seen from a speech she made before the Congress of American Women in 1946. According to the New York *Times*, Mrs. Dean told 200 foreign and American delegates to "whittle away their conceptions of national sovereignty" and to pull themselves out of the "ancient grooves of nationalism."

Such is the background of Mrs. Dean, whose "Great Decisions" project is utilized by high schools throughout America. In addition to schools, some 3,000 informal adult discussion groups have been formed in 34 different states.

The "Great Decisions" project, although only six years old, is now FPA's most ambitious undertaking. The group this year is distributing study guides, among others, on Cuba, Red China, World Communism and European Policy.

The Fulton County Grand Jury, following its investigation of the FPA, disclosed "that some of these leaders [of the FPA] and authors [recommended by the FPA] had a long record, dating back many years, in which they either belonged to, or actively supported left-wing or subversive organizations.

"The range of the activity of this organization [FPA] has reached alarming proportions in the schools and civic groups in certain other areas of Georgia. Its spread is a matter of deep concern to this jury, and we, therefore, call upon all school officials throughout the State [of Georgia] to be particularly alert to this insidious and subversive

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material. We further recommend that all textbook committee members—city, county and state—recognize the undesirable material and take action to remove it from our schools. Finally, we urge that all Grand Juries throughout the State of Georgia give matters of this nature their serious consideration. Information and assistance is available to those educators, public officials and other Grand Juries where needed."

The Grand Jury made a thorough study of the "recommended reading lists" furnished by the FPA under the "Great Decisions" program. Of particular interest was the list pertaining to Red China, which analyzed "the roots of Communist China's power, the progress Chinese communism is making."

RECOMMENDED as a "comprehensive treatment of United States-Chinese relations" is a 1958 book, *The United States and China,* by John K. Fairbank. The author is familiar to all students of the Communist conspiracy, for Fairbank was identified in sworn testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as a member of the Communist party more than eight years ago (although he denied membership).

Fairbank's book, recommended without reservation, in turn recommends the works of other authors, whose past histories are of interest. The Grand Jury lists the following "experts" recommended by Fairbank:

• Owen Lattimore, identified as a member of the Communist party, and as a member of Soviet intelligence by former Russian General Alexander Barmine. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, following a painstaking 16-month-long investigation, called Lattimore "a conscious articulate instrument of the Communist conspiracy."

• Olga Lang, also identified under oath as a member of the Communist party, escaped subpoena by a Senate committee. She has written, declared the McCarran Committee, "for official publications of the Communist party or the Communist International or for a Communist government or for pro-Communist press services."

• Edgar Snow, a long-time apologist for the Chinese Communists, a chief exponent of the doctrine that the Reds are merely "agrarian reformers."

• Nym Wales, or Mrs. Edgar Snow, described as follows by the McCarran Report on the Institute of Pacific Relations: "Identified as a member of the Communist party by one or more duly sworn witnesses. Made one or more trips to Communist territory. Writer for the official publications of the Communist party or the Communist International or for a Communist government or for pro-Communist press services."

• Agnes Smedley, like the others, a member of the IPR, also described under oath as a Communist. Additional testimony showed her to have collaborated with the Soviet intelligence apparatus.

• Phillip Jacob Jaffe, another IPR veteran, also identified as a Communist party member. He was seized by the FBI in 1945 with State Department policy-maker John Service. The two had some 1,700 top-secret and lesser classified government documents in their possession. Jaffe has since claimed to have severed relations with the Communist party.

• T. A. Bisson, still another IPR official, identified as a member of the Communist party (which he denied). The McCarran Committee described him additionally as the "subject of action by an agency of American Government on grounds involving loyalty or national security."

• Lawrence K. Rosinger, a research associate for the IPR, named under oath as a Communist. He took the Fifth Amendment when questioned about membership.

These, then, are some of the people listed as experts in an FPA-recommended treatise, a book written by another Communist. The President of the FPA, John W. Nason, a former President of Swarthmore, has called the Fulton County Grand Jury allegation as "without basis whatsoever." But his own research organization has been unable to refute a single fact mentioned above.

Following the Grand Jury charges, and FPA's answer, the Board of Education of Atlanta, Georgia, removed the "Great Decisions" literature from the shelves of its schools. Similar action is expected—and needed—by school boards in every state.

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